

BEIJING REVIEW

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A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS



**China's Indisputable
Sovereignty Over Xisha
And Nansha Islands.**

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**Make Every Day Count
In the 80s**

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**Mounting Tension on Kampu-
chean-Thai Border**



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WEEK

China's Sovereignty Over Xisha and Nansha

The Vietnamese expansionists are reaching out for the Xisha and Nansha Islands which have been China's territory since ancient times. Reversing their



earlier position of recognizing these islands as China's territory, they have in their White Book laid claim to these is-

lands — a further proof of their regional hegemonist ambitions.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry has published a document citing historical records and official documents to prove China's indisputable sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha. (Page 15)

Another Revolution for Viet Nam

Through a purge and reshuffle of personnel (Page 12), Le Duan and company are tightening their hold on the Vietnamese people now groaning in their grips. The late President Ho Chi Minh's wish was that Viet Nam should be built into a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous state. But Le Duan and company have betrayed everything cherished by President Ho.

Hoang Van Hoan, a founding member of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, said that

Viet Nam needs another revolution. (Page 11)

Sino-Thai Solidarity

Tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border is mounting, with large contingents of Vietnamese troops deployed there (Page 9). Said Vice-Chairman Deng Yingchao during her recent visit to Thailand: If Thailand's security is threatened, China will firmly stand on the side of the Thai people. (Page 7)

The 80s — Crucial Decade

The 80s will be full of promise, and international turmoil as well. The nation's leading papers call for redoubled efforts to speed up economic construction so as to ensure the realization of the four modernizations by the end of this century. (Page 25)

The Party and Class Struggle

Is class struggle the sole task of the Communist Party? A signed article in *Renmin Ribao* discusses this question. (Page 6)

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COVER: A P.L.A. navy man guarding an outpost of the Xisha Islands in the South China Sea (above). Dawn over the Xisha Islands (below).

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ECONOMIC**Speeding Up Building of
Baoshan Iron and Steel
Complex**

The building of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex in Shanghai is being speeded up. The biggest project with imported technology and machinery since the founding of the People's Republic, it consists of whole sets of modern equipment (mostly from Japan) for iron-smelting, steel-making and steel-rolling.

Since work began towards the end of 1978, workers coming from various parts of the country have driven into the ground 37,000 steel, concrete and sand piles and successfully laid concrete foundations for converters and power plants, a large blast furnace

and a coke oven. Meanwhile, installation is under way in a steel mill and a repair shop.

With an eye to scientific management, the engineering headquarters has established a strict system of responsibility at the construction site. It has also asked some noted specialists and professors to form an advisory committee to tackle major technological problems.

The complex has trained several thousand technicians and workers specialized in various production skills by sending them to study in universities and factory-run colleges in Shanghai and in TV schools or short-term classes set up at the construction site.

When this large complex is completed, China will be able to produce high-quality plate steel, strip steel, large-calibre seamless steel tubes and other rolled steel with advanced technology and equipment.

Iron and Steel Production

In the current readjustment of the national economy, the allocation of investment for the iron and steel industry was reduced. But thanks to the joint efforts of the workers and staff members, they succeeded in improving quality and increasing varieties and profits last year by using existing equipment to the fullest.

Steel output last year was 34.43 million tons, an increase of 2.65 million tons over 1978; output of steel products was 24.94 million tons, an increase of 2.86 million tons; and output of rolled steel, which was in short supply and urgently needed, was 15.38 million tons, an increase of 2.75 million tons. Last year 36.69 million tons of pig iron were produced, an increase of 1.9 million tons over 1978.

The primary tasks for this year are to improve the quality of products, increase the varieties of steel and steel products and reduce production costs.

**Part of Profit to
Enterprises**

Lower production targets were set for state factories in Beijing last year as a result of readjusting the national economy. At the same time, the prices of certain products were reduced, while the cost of some raw materials was raised. This being the case, there were misgivings that the annual plan



At the Baoshan construction site.

of profit to be handed over to the state could not be fulfilled. It turned out, however, that the plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule, and it was 18 per cent higher than in 1978.

How was this accomplished?

A January 4 article in *Beijing Ribao* quoted the common Chinese saying "Sow a grain and harvest an ear" to explain the situation.

Starting variously between July and November last year, 366 state-owned factories in the city (about 87 per cent of the total) tried out the method of setting aside a portion of the profit to be placed at the disposal of the factories. The results were satisfactory.

How does this method work?

Previously, the factories drew a certain amount of money, which is equivalent to a certain percentage of the workers' wages, out of the costs to be used as fund for developing production and for the workers' welfare and premium payments. Now this fund is drawn from the profit. That means, if a factory is managed in a more efficient way, the larger will be its profit, and so will be that portion of its profit at the disposal of the factory which may use this money to replenish its equipment to develop production, to improve welfare facilities, and to give the workers a higher premium. This has greatly enhanced the initiative of the workers and staff members and brought benefit to the state, the factories and the workers.

Take the Beijing No. 3 Knitwear Mill for example. The plan it drew up at the beginning of last year for profit to be handed over to the state was 6.8 million yuan. After adopting

the above-mentioned method, the actual amount it handed over to the state at the end of the year was 11.57 million yuan.

The No. 2 Chemical Works was another example. It failed to meet its targets of output value and profit in the first half of 1979 because a major piece of equipment was under repair and was operating under capacity. However, in the second half of last year, when part of the profit was placed at the disposal of the factory, the workers and staff had the machine overhauled in time. As a result, they succeeded in fulfilling the annual plan one month ahead of schedule.

Beijing industrial departments listed the following advantages of this method:

— More and more factories have improved their rules and regulations to ensure the fulfillment of economic targets in an all-round way.

— Many factories now gear their production to the needs of the consumers instead of merely meeting the targets set by the higher organs. They not only do their best to raise quality and increase varieties, but also pay attention to market investigation and improvement of management and sales.

— The factories can now use part of their profits to build more housing for the workers and staff and run kindergartens and canteens in a better way. Since this brings direct benefits to the workers, their enthusiasm for production has increased.

Changes in the Zhejiang Countryside

In the countryside of Zhejiang Province in east China, people can be heard everywhere

talking about how there is more grain now in commune members' homes, more money in their pockets, more pigs in the pigsty and sheep in the sheepfold — as well as more laughter in the production teams.

In 1979, total output of grain in this province was 15 million tons, one million tons more than in 1978 which was a good year, and the average yield was 10 tons per hectare. Of the industrial crops, output of silkworm cocoons, rape, tea and sugar cane all set a new record. Considerable progress was also made in forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations, fisheries and enterprises run by the communes and production brigades.

Last year 120,000 hectares of land have been turned into forests. The number of pigs had by the end of the year increased to 15 million, or 7 million more than in the peak year. The number of sheep was 3.35 million, 220,000 more



Shipping loquats from a rural commune in Zhejiang Province to the cities.

than the previous record. Freshwater fish registered an increase of nearly 5,000 tons compared with 1977. The annual output value of commune- and brigade-run enterprises amounted to 3,000 million yuan, 15 per cent more than in 1978. The average income of each commune member came to 120 yuan, an increase of 18 yuan over 1977.

In spring last year, the Zhejiang provincial Party committee stressed that it was necessary, first of all, to bring about the proportionate development of industry and agriculture, with emphasis on agriculture, followed by light industry and heavy industry. Efforts were made to boost agricultural production, with more provincial reserve funds invested in it. These funds were used mainly for the production of chemical fertilizers, farm machinery, insecticides and plastic sheets for the farms. Thus the output of products serving the needs of agriculture increased by a big margin.

Zhejiang's area is 70 per cent mountains, 10 per cent water and 20 per cent farmland. Since the mountainous areas which occupy 7.27 million hectares have great potentialities, the provincial Party committee has decided to make them the focus of work and drawn up plans to afforest the mountainous areas and to grow crops and plant trees simultaneously in the semi-mountainous areas. The communes and production brigades in these areas are required to grow tea, mulberry trees, tangerines and other cash crops and raise cattle, sheep or rabbits wherever

conditions permit. As to areas where grain is in short supply, the provincial Party committee has provided 150,000 tons of grain for them.

As a result of an all-round development and diversified economy, the rural areas of Zhejiang Province has taken on a new look.

Cultivation Plans of Production Teams

Production teams in Fujian Province's Longhai County may, beginning this year, draw up their own plans for the cultivation of crops provided they fulfil the targets for the production of grain, peanuts and sugar cane set for them. This decision by the county leadership, which gives the production teams more power to manage their own affairs, has been warmly received by the local peasants.

China is a vast country where natural conditions vary from place to place, with each people's commune and even each production team having its own special features. To boost production, therefore, local conditions have to be taken into consideration. But in the years when the gang of four held sway, the production teams had to follow arbitrary decisions from above which often disregarded specific local conditions.

Longhai County is a case in point. Previously, the county leadership fixed production plans for the teams with little consideration for the actual conditions of each. The peasants' opinions were

ignored, and the acreage for food grain was expanded every year, and even land unsuitable for rice paddy was turned into paddyfields. The result was: high cost but low yield. With less income from their work, the peasants inevitably became less enthusiastic.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in December 1978 adopted a series of economic policies for the rural areas, one of which stipulated that the right of ownership by the people's communes, production brigades and production teams and their power of decision must be protected by the laws of the state. This means that the production teams may, with the state plan as the basis, draw up their own plans of cultivation and measures for increasing production with due consideration for available natural condition, resources and special features in production, and the government or commune leadership has no right to intervene. It is in line with this policy that the leading organs of Longhai and others areas have taken decisions to rectify the mistakes of the past few years.



Is Class Struggle the Sole Task of the Communist Party?

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that at present class struggle is no longer the main contradiction of our society and that the focus of the Party's work should be shifted to socialist modernization.

Some people, however, are not reconciled to this viewpoint. They hold that class struggle is the sole aim of Marxism and the main task of the Communist Party, and they have raised such questions as: Do we still uphold Marxism? Since the focus of the Party's work has been shifted to economic construction, what then is the use of the Communist Party?

A signed article entitled "Marxism and Class Struggle" was published in *Renmin Ribao* on February 1 which tried to clarify the confusion on this point. The gist of the article:

Marxism — A Complete Scientific System. The three component parts of Marxism are philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Class struggle is an important content of Marxism, but one should on no account narrow down Marxist theory to class struggle only. Otherwise, one would fail to have a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the system of Marxist theory.

Historical Materialism. Marx and Engels pointed out that in order to live, people must carry on production.

For the purpose of production, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which a legal and political superstructure of the society exists. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. At that point an era of social revolution begins.

It was in this way that Marx and Engels explained the historical process of social development, with economic development as the ultimate cause. It can thus be seen that to explain history solely by class struggle is not historical materialism.

Class Struggle Cannot Be Equated With Scientific Socialism. Scientific socialism is a theory concerning the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat. These conditions include: The seizure of political power by the proletariat, the transformation of the means of production into public property, the planned development of social productive forces, the elimination of classes and class difference on the basis of the high development of productive forces and the dying out of the state.

The materialization of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat is a historical process. Socialist revolution begins with the proletariat overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the suppression of resistance from the exploiters. At this stage of the struggle, the

proletariat should and must place class struggle in the first place. This is a matter of course.

However, after the seizure of political power by the proletariat and after the suppression of the exploiters' resistance and the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production has been completed in the main, and after the socialist system is basically set up, the main task of the proletariat is to build socialism. At this stage, first place must be given to the development of the productive forces.

Class Struggle — Not Permanently the Basic Practice of the Party. It is incorrect to say that the purpose of founding a Communist Party is solely for carrying on class struggles. Communists do not hold that class struggle is everlasting, but hold that classes will ultimately be abolished. Class struggle is an important and indispensable means to abolish classes, but it is not the aim itself, nor the only means.

In 1956, when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that the basic task of the Party had changed from the liberation of the productive forces to the protection and development of them under the new relationships of production. The Central Committee also raised the strategic slogan of "waging a struggle against nature." Later, at the Third and Fourth National People's Congresses held in 1964 and 1975 respectively, Comrade Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, put forth the magnificent programme of socialist construction, with the realization of the four modernizations as the goal. These deci-

sions of the Party were correct.

But for a long time in the past, the Party made some mistakes in its work of leadership owing to "Leftist" deviations. The situation worsened when Lin Biao and the gang of four pushed an ultra-Left line and carried out class struggle on an extensive scale even though the exploiting classes had already been abolished. This led to enlarging the scope of class struggles, the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the undermining of stability and unity in the country.

As has been proved by historical experiences, class struggle will continue to exist even when the exploiting classes have been abolished and the socialist system has been established. Denying class struggle will lead to Right deviations. On the other hand, continuing to regard class struggle as the Party's basic practice will result in "Leftist" deviations.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Strengthening Sino-Thai Friendship

Both China and Thailand are opposed to the practice of hegemonism. If Thailand's security is threatened, China will firmly stand on the side of the Thai people.

Deng Yingchao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, made the above statement when she called on Harin Hongsakul, Speaker of the National Assembly of Thailand, on February 6.

At a banquet given by the Thailand-China Friendship As-

sociation welcoming her on her visit to Thailand, Vice-Chairman Deng said: "The international situation is becoming increasingly turbulent and the hegemomists are running rampant. They have brazenly carried out aggression and expansion in Indochina, Southeast Asia and Southwest Asia. They have pushed their menace to the doorsteps of our two countries. In these circumstances, it is the common desire of our two peoples to support and help each other, enhance our friendship, strengthen our unity, and work together for the preservation of peace in the Asian-Pacific region."

China and Thailand are neighbouring countries and friendly contacts between the two peoples have a history of over 2,000 years. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975, the amicable and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries have made fresh and gratifying progress. Vice-Chairman Deng's visit was permeated with a joyous atmosphere of reunion of

kinsfolk. At another banquet, Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan, Speaker Harin and President of the Supreme Court Prapot Thirawat sang together the famous Thai song *White Lotus*, while Vice-Chairman Deng, invited by Prime Minister Kriangsak, sang the aria "The North Wind Blows" from the opera *The White-Haired Girl*.

At the banquet held on February 7, Prime Minister Kriangsak said that the visit of Sister Deng carried forward the lofty will of the great statesman Brother Zhou (referring to the late Premier Zhou Enlai, Deng Yingchao being Zhou's wife — Ed.) and "represent another important step towards strengthening the long-standing friendly relations between Thailand and China."

Meeting With Overseas Chinese and Chinese of Thai Nationality. When she met with representatives of overseas Chinese and Chinese of Thai nationality, Vice-Chairman Deng said: Since the founding of New China, our country has



At the welcoming banquet: (from the left) Kriangsak Chomanan, Prapot Thirawat, Deng Yingchao and Harin Hongsakul.

shown great concern for the overseas Chinese. Proceeding from the basic and long-term interests of the overseas Chinese, Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai formulated our government's policy towards them. While protecting their legitimate interests, the Chinese Government supports and encourages them voluntarily to acquire the nationality of the country in which they reside. Any Chinese who has acquired the nationality of the country in which he resides becomes a citizen of the host country and is no longer qualified to hold Chinese citizenship. They should be loyal to the host country and are obliged to fulfil the obligations of citizens working for the construction and prosperity of the host country. Those who decide to retain their Chinese nationality must abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people, and live amicably with the citizens there and, together with them, make contributions to the production and construction of that country. Premier Zhou Enlai stated this policy on many occasions. Now we reaffirm it and will firmly carry it out.

China and Colombia Establish Diplomatic Relations

The Chinese and Colombian Governments have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level as from February 7, 1980. This decision reflects the desire of the two peoples.

The joint communique signed by the two sides said: The Colombian Government recognizes the Government of the

People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. The Colombian Government takes note of this position of the Chinese Government.

The communique added: The Chinese Government appreciates the unremitting efforts made by the Colombian Government and people in defending their national independence and state sovereignty, protecting their national resources and developing their national economy, and supports the position of the Colombian Government and people in promoting Latin American unity and co-operation.

China's establishment of diplomatic relations with Ecuador and then with Colombia since the advent of the 80s marks the beginning of an advanced stage of its relationship with Latin America. It gives fresh impetus to the development of friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Latin American peoples.

President of Bank of China on Foreign Loans

Bu Ming, President of the Bank of China, recently spoke about the absorbing and making use of foreign funds. He said: The Bank of China signed loan agreements with banks of Britain, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Sweden and other countries. Negotiations for this year are well under way with representatives of foreign banks.

The loans were of short or medium terms, including buyer's credit and developmental loans.

The Bank of China handles all the nation's foreign exchange business. President Bu added: "To absorb and make use of foreign funds in a planned way and in accordance with the principle of upholding independence and self-reliance is one of China's set policies aimed at speeding up its modernization programme. It is also an important task of the bank in the new period."

When arranging for foreign loans, he pointed out, "we consider first our ability to repay. We honour our commitments and repay loans on time. China is a country with a planned economy. Foreign exchange receipts and payments are under the supervision of the state plan and kept in balance. Special reserve is earmarked in the state plan for repayment of foreign loans and interest."

Last year, in co-ordination with the readjustment of the national economy, the Bank of China loaned part of the foreign loans to finance projects that required little investment but would bring quick returns, such as the light and textile industries. Loans were also used to develop maritime transport and energy resources. The amount of the loans made and repaid last year all reached a record high. Bu Ming said: "China uses the foreign funds mainly to boost production and exploit natural resources. This will expand exports and ensure the steady increase in our foreign exchange receipts."

Mounting Tension on the Kampuchean-Thai Border

AS the Soviet Union is tightening its control of Afghanistan, Viet Nam is intensifying its military campaign in Kampuchea. Despite a declaration not long ago by the Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister, Phan Hien, that the military problem in Kampuchea had been solved and that Vietnamese troops would not attack the guerrillas, the number of Vietnamese troops stationed along the Kampuchean-Thai border has been increased from four to six divisions, about 50,000 soldiers. Since the later part of January, Vietnamese troops in Battambang Province have conducted mopping-up operations in the Phnom Melai Mountains along the border. It was reported that on January 30 thousands of Vietnamese troops backed by heavy artillery stormed hilltops in that area and fighting in the mountains very close to Thailand was again re-

ported on February 2. By February 4, Vietnamese troops were 600 yards from the border.

Viet Nam's dry-season military operations have been carefully calculated. Last October and November, the Vietnamese authorities dispatched 8 divisions to the northeast and central regions to carry out their first dry-season mopping-up operation. They aimed at wiping out the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea there and then moving the troops westward. However, they failed to achieve their objectives in the operation as well as in the second dry-season operation they unleashed in December and mid-January. Now, Hanoi has launched a new campaign in western Kampuchea in order to wipe out the resistance forces and to gain control of the Kampuchean-Thai border areas which they see as crucial for further expansion into Southeast Asia.

Can Viet Nam Extricate Itself From the Quagmire? After Viet Nam occupied Phnom Penh on January 7, 1979, it dreamt it could employ blitzkrieg tactics to annihilate the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea within a month, or at most two or three months, and control the whole of Kampuchea. But it has been dragged into a quagmire by the resistance forces which have adopted flexible and mobile tactics. In 1979, the Kampuchean people did make great sacrifices, but they retained their effective combat forces and killed a great number of enemy effectives. Bugged down in Kampuchea,

more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops failed to achieve their strategic aims. Moreover, Viet Nam has never been so isolated internationally as it is today and it is in even worse shape domestically. Last year, 46 per cent of its total expenditures were for military purposes. A Western diplomat estimated that Moscow is supplying Viet Nam with 3 million U.S. dollars a day to maintain its war in Kampuchea.

Many observers are of the opinion that so long as Viet Nam occupies Kampuchea, it will never get out of the quagmire. Kampuchea will become Viet Nam's "Viet Nam."

A Development Worthy of Attention. Viet Nam recently said that it respected the independence and sovereignty of the ASEAN countries and had no intention of invading Thailand. On the other hand, it time and again accused Thailand of interfering in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

People are familiar with Hanoi's declarations. A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Thailand, Phirat Issarasena, stated that Viet Nam's declarations that it would not invade Thailand should not be believed.

According to one report, an official of the Heng Samrin regime who fled to Thailand late in January disclosed that Vietnamese troops would probably soon mount an assault against refugee camps in Thailand. During the new dry-season operation, Vietnamese shells fell in Thailand and a Vietnamese military helicopter made a reconnaissance flight over Thailand. Thai military sources have said that during



"I won't disturb you."

Cartoon by Miao Di

this new military operation a Vietnamese invasion of Thailand is possible.

Close attention is presently being paid to the fighting along the Kampuchean-Thai border. There is mounting concern that

the combat might set off an explosive situation in Southeast Asia as no one believes Viet Nam's declarations of non-aggression against Thailand.

—*"Beijing Review" News Analyst An Ding*

Vietnamese-Held Areas in Kampuchea — A Hell on Earth

Xinhua Correspondent's interview with Thiounn Mumm at a jungle base headquarters in Kampuchea

THE Kampuchean people in Vietnamese-occupied areas have suffered more than outsiders can imagine and they now realize that the only way to save their country is to drive out the invaders. Thiounn Mumm told a Xinhua correspondent at a jungle base headquarters in Democratic Kampuchea.

Thiounn Mumm was the President of the Phnom Penh Academy of Sciences and Technology before the Vietnamese occupied the capital. Last November he managed to reach the base headquarters of the

Democratic Kampuchean Government and was then appointed President of the National Committee of Sciences and Technology.

Tight Vietnamese Control. The Hanoi authorities, Thiounn Mumm said, have set up an administrative network to ensure a firm hold over the occupied areas. There are co-governors at the provincial level, one Vietnamese and one Kampuchean, with the Vietnamese governor in charge of military and other affairs. There is also at least one Vietnamese adviser in each district and village, who has the final say in everything.

He said that the so-called "Heng Samrin government" is

merely a puppet manipulated by the Vietnamese. Even Heng Samrin's speeches are first drafted by the Vietnamese in their language and then translated into Kampuchean for Heng Samrin to read.

The Phnom Penh puppet has merely a small number of "self-defence guards" controlled by the Vietnamese authorities. There are only 200 in Kompong Thom Province. Thiounn Mumm noted: "Last June, I met with a bunch of 'self-defence guards' in Phnom Penh. Some of them spoke Vietnamese and not Kampuchean" — indicative of the fact that quite a few "guards" in the capital are disguised Vietnamese soldiers.

Slaughter and Plunder. The Vietnamese authorities have brought large numbers of Vietnamese immigrants into the occupied areas to tighten their control. At first, the immigrants only settled in eastern Kampuchea but during the last five months they have poured into the Provinces of Kompong Thom, Kompong Chhnang, Pursat and Battambang.

Thiounn Mumm said that the Kampuchean people he met had all bitterly denounced the Vietnamese invaders for the unpardonable crime of slaughtering people. The victims were innocent civilians.

He noted that the rich and populous Tonle Sap Lake area, once a land of abundance, has been reduced to a stretch of wasteland today. In Kompong Chhnang, Pursat, Kompong Thom and Siem Reap, many villages were burnt down. Large numbers of villagers were killed or starved to death, leaving nine out of ten houses vacant.

Both in the cities and in the countryside, the Vietnamese invaders seized treasures and rice. Much of the grain was transported back to Viet Nam.



Democratic Kampuchean fighters in the jungle.

Thiounn Mumm quoted refugees from the eastern part of Kampuchea who reported that the Vietnamese invaders have exploited Kampucheans more mercilessly than the ruling class before the national liberation of 1975.

People's Hatred and Resistance. Thiounn Mumm said that the Kampuchean people have a glorious tradition of resistance against foreign aggression and they are now rising up in struggle against the Vietnamese occupation. Where there are Vietnamese troops, there is hatred and guerrillas' resistance. Many villagers run great risks to deliver grain and medicine to the guerrillas as well as to pass

on information about the enemy's situation.

The "self-defence guards" of the bogus regime, Thiounn Mumm said, do not want to die for the Vietnamese invaders and the number of deserters is growing. Some have gone over to the guerrillas. Clashes have often occurred between the "guards" and Vietnamese troops.

He said more and more Kampucheans have come to realize that the Hanoi authorities are annexing their country and exterminating their nation. The only way to save their nation is to rise in struggle and drive out the Vietnamese aggressors

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese youths have been forced to leave their work or schools to take part in the war preparations against China or fight in the war of aggression against Kampuchea. How long would the Vietnamese people continue to wage war and when would their suffering end?

Viet Nam Not Really Unified. The Vietnamese people waged a protracted and valiant struggle for the unification of their fatherland. But today unification exists in Viet Nam only in form. In reality it is a feudal separatist state. During the past ten years Le Duan pursued a policy of sectarianism, leading to grave strife among factions in the state apparatus from the central government down to the grass roots. Since complete liberation of the country, factional strife has proliferated into a fierce struggle between cadres from north and south Viet Nam.

Viet Nam Has Lost Its Independence. Le Duan and company want to attack China but lack the capability. They have to depend on the military alliance treaty concluded with a foreign country. To oppose China is detrimental to Viet Nam itself. But they insist on opposing China in the interests of a foreign country. To stay in power in the present circumstances, Le Duan and company can only serve as a lackey of a foreign country. Thus, Viet Nam has completely lost its economic, political, military and diplomatic independence.

There Is No Democracy and Freedom in Viet Nam. Today, no people in the world lack clothing and food like the peo-

Hoang Van Hoan: "Viet Nam Needs Another Revolution"

Viet Nam needs another revolution," Hoang Van Hoan, a founding member of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and a close comrade-in-arms of President Ho Chi Minh, said recently in Kunming in China's Yunnan Province. He made the remark at a meeting with representatives of Vietnamese residents there.

Highlights of his speech are as follows:

Le Duan and company have totally spoiled the fruits of 30 years of the Vietnamese people's revolution. The late President Ho Chi Minh explicitly pointed out that Viet Nam should be built into a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful state. But Le Duan and company have betrayed everything cherished by the President.

The Vietnamese People Have No Peace. Le Duan and his followers have abandoned the policy of friendship with China persistently followed by President Ho. They have made military provocations against China, sent troops to put Laos under their control and unleashed a war of aggression against Kampuchea. The Le Duan cliques' allegation that China wants to invade and annex Viet Nam is a lie. China's aid to Viet Nam over the past 30 years was given out of profound friendship for the country. China is now concentrating its efforts on the four modernizations. China has absolutely no intention of committing aggression against Viet Nam or annexing it. But China will certainly not tolerate provocations by the Le Duan clique.

ple do in Viet Nam; and no country in the world has deprived its people of their freedom and democratic rights and denied them any chance to speak up as Viet Nam has done. The rule of Le Duan and company is enforced through security agents. Whoever disagrees with them is thrown out, persecuted or wronged. The people have no right whatsoever to say anything on matters concerning the state or their personal interests.

Prosperity is out of the question since the Vietnamese people can hardly maintain their existence. With soaring prices and dire shortages of grain after the victory of the war against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people are even more miserable than before. Finding it hard to make a living, large numbers of labouring people and intellectuals have been compelled to flee their homeland. The Vietnamese are now the poorest people in the world. Workers, peasants, labourers and middle

and lower cadres, in particular, are in desperate straits.

The wars against French and U.S. aggression were fought to win peace, unification, independence, democracy and prosperity for Viet Nam. But Le Duan and company have brought all these things to nought and discarded the fruits of the Vietnamese people's efforts for revolution over the past few decades. Therefore, Viet Nam today needs another revolution.

It is hoped that Vietnamese nationals living abroad will unite and contribute to the salvation of the country and people, just as their countrymen do at home. It is necessary to expose relentlessly and thoroughly the diabolical line pursued by Le Duan and company and expose their anti-nation and anti-people counter-revolutionary features. A resolute struggle must be waged to safeguard Vietnamese-Chinese friendship forged by President Ho and Chairman Mao.

In an Awful Pickle. The suddenness and scale of the government reorganization is unprecedented in the history of the Republic. Many diplomats in Hanoi believe that the reorganization was due to the serious difficulties brought about by the escalation of the Soviet-backed war of aggression against Kampuchea, and to the country's foreign and internal policies. However, they believe that the change cannot possibly get the country out of its present plight at home and abroad.

"He Who Is Not for Us Is Against Us." The Vietnamese authorities are intensifying the purge of Party members and cadres who have shown disapproval of the Party line.

In his speech at a meeting to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnamese Party on February 2, Le Duan proclaimed that "people who do not observe the Party line in internal and external matters must be replaced." He added that inside the Party, "certain sections of its membership . . . are likely to degenerate and so must be rejected" and that "the Party, through mass movements, must detect and expel such elements without delay."

The massive purges were started last year, following the adoption of a resolution at a Politburo meeting of the Party Central Committee on February 3, which calls for a campaign to "build a powerful and purified Party."

In its directive concerning the Party purge issued last May, the Vietnamese Party Central Committee emphasized that the pace of purge should be quickened in order to "build up purified and powerful branches at the grass-roots level by the end of 1980."

Hanoi

Government Reshuffle and Party Purges

IN early February, there was a big reshuffle of the Vietnamese Government Council. Top members in the central departments of national defence, interior, foreign affairs and economy were relieved of their posts.

Vice-Premier Pham Hung was appointed to head concurrently the Ministry of the Interior in place of Tran Quoc Hoan; Van Tien Dung was appointed Minister of National Defence to replace Vo Nguyen Giap; Nguyen Duy Trinh was

relieved of the posts of Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Nguyen Co Thach was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and was relieved of the post of Minister of State; Le Thanh Nghi was relieved of the post of Chairman of the State Planning Commission; To Huu was appointed Vice-Premier; Nguyen Lam was appointed Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Some other ministers were also relieved of their posts.

An article in the Hanoi paper *Nhan Dan* of November 24 last year noted that on the Kampuchean issue, "certain people who fail to grasp the situation there have shown doubt or vacillation in their feelings and actions. Some even stand the matter on its head. They are hoodwinked and cannot see the truth of the matter."

In its editorial on January 22, *Nhan Dan* revealed that some people, in whispers and in private letters, have "attacked the line and policies of the Party and its leadership." They went about it "quite openly but with circumspection."

This is the backdrop to the current intensified purges in Viet Nam.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has said that the situation in Afghanistan has brought danger closer to India. Therefore, with large numbers of Soviet troops, tanks and military aircraft being deployed closer and closer to Pakistan borders, it is clear where the menace to both India and Pakistan comes from and what is the biggest and most pressing problem confronting the two nations.

Indian-Pakistan Talks

Mutual Understanding of Great Significance

INDIAN Foreign Secretary R.D. Sathe paid a three-day visit to Pakistan beginning from February 4 for talks with Pakistan Foreign Secretary S. Shah Nawaz on the Soviet dispatch of troops into Afghanistan, India-Pakistan relations and other topics. Pakistan President Zia-ul-Haq also met with Sathe.

For reasons known to all, relations between the two countries had been cool or even strained for some time. There were still differences after the recent talks. However, from Sathe's Pakistan visit it can be seen that India and Pakistan, taking the overall situation into account and seeking common grounds while reserving differences, are making efforts to improve bilateral relations and safeguard peace and stability in the subcontinent. This is why the visit has aroused wide attention.

It should be noted that Sathe's visit took place at a time when the Soviet Union was continuing its aggression against Afghanistan and the peace and security of South Asia was

being directly threatened. Reports indicated that both sides expressed their desire for friendship in the talks. In Sathe's words, this is a mutual understanding of great significance. It is certain that the talks will exert a positive influence on the development of the situation in South Asia.

"Lips and Teeth"

When the lips are gone the teeth will be exposed to the cold, as a Chinese saying goes. Pakistan, a close neighbour of Afghanistan, is the gateway from Western Asia to the Indian subcontinent. With Soviet troops at the threshold of Pakistan, the Soviet threat to the country is now very real. The way Moscow is carrying out aggression and expansion shows that it regards the invasion of Afghanistan as an important link in its global strategy and will not stop there. The dispatch of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, which was in the past regarded as "the gateway to India," constitutes also a menace to India which cannot be neglected.

With this understanding, the Indian side stated in the talks that if anything occurs to endanger Pakistan's security, India would feel concerned. At the February 6 press conference Sathe explicitly pointed out that both sides had identical views at least on this point: no force or interference in the internal affairs of other countries will be tolerated. He also said that India does not object to Pakistan accepting U.S. aid in order to strengthen its defence capability.

Strengthening Relations Between South Asian Countries

The Soviet Union, of course, is unhappy to see relations improving between India and Pakistan. People have noted that Moscow is trying to foment discord between India and Pakistan by making a big fuss over U.S. assistance to Pakistan and proclaims itself to be a "long-tested old friend" of India. But has not the deceptiveness of these high-sounding words been much blunted by the thunder of artillery in Afghanistan? People with the interests of the Indian nation and the peace and security of South Asia in mind will distinguish right from

wrong. They will see that the support and assistance rendered by many countries to the threatened Pakistan is not directed against India and creates no threats whatever to that country. On the contrary, it will only help to check the hegemonists in their aggression and expansion. Therefore, it is beneficial to India. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said recently that India would not support any country sending troops into another country.

She also noted that the Russians would build up its forces in this area, not only in Afghanistan, but also in the whole of South-east Asia. This is very dangerous, she said. These propositions and views are very conducive to the strengthening of relations among the countries in South Asia, to opposing hegemonism and to maintaining peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

—“Renmin Ribao”
Commentator

History Must Not Be Repeated

AS a sanction against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a growing number of countries have recently stated that they would boycott the Olympic Games to be held in Moscow in July. People are recalling what happened over 40 years ago. It is a forceful lesson of history. In 1936, when Hitler was actively preparing for an aggressive war, the Olympic Games went on as scheduled in Berlin. It later became known as the “Nazi Olympics,” for it served to build up Hitler’s image and boost Nazism. Two months later, Hitler sent his men

into Spain, actually raising the curtain on World War II, an unprecedented calamity to the whole of mankind.

Today, the Soviet action in Afghanistan has not only grossly encroached upon an Islamic, non-aligned country’s independence and sovereignty, but also gravely menaces world peace and security. As the aim of the Olympic Games is to promote peace and friendship through sports, it is singularly inappropriate to hold the Games in Moscow, the centre of a super-power which is carrying on aggression.

Evidently bearing in mind Moscow’s predicament, the Soviet Ambassador to India, at a meeting with the former world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali, had a message for him from Brezhnev, who pleaded that politics should not be mixed with sports. But the American boxer replied that politics and sports went together. That’s right. The Soviet Union must not be allowed to exploit the Olympic Games to divert world attention from its hegemonist actions and aim. If the Soviet Union is allowed to host the Olympic Games when its troops continue to shoot

Afghan people inside Afghanistan, it would be a tacit approval of Soviet aggression—a grave violation of the U.N. Charter and a blow to the worthy aims of the Games.

China has just had its rightful place restored in the Olympics movement and Chinese physical culture workers and athletes, like their counterparts all over the world, have put in a great deal of work preparatory to the 22nd Olympic Games. However, as a member of the Olympic Games movement, the Chinese people are obliged to join the rest of the world in resolutely upholding the spirit and aims of the Olympic Games. The spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese



Hitler at opening of 1936 Olympics



“Moscow Awaits You.”
Cartoon by Lan Jianan

Foreign Ministry has made it clear that China is in favour of urging the International Olympic Committee to change the site of the 22nd Summer Olympic Games, or simply cancel it. China’s athletes and coaches support this statement. They hope the International Olympic Committee will give serious consideration to the views of many member countries and arrive at a decision conforming to the aspirations of the people of the world.

China's Indisputable Sovereignty Over the Xisha And Nansha Islands

On January 30, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China published a document which, by citing numerous historical records and official documents, proves China's indisputable sovereignty over Xisha and Nansha Islands and explodes the fallaciousness of the Vietnamese authorities' claims in this regard. Following is the full text.—Ed.

THE Xisha and Nansha Islands are two large island groups in the South China Sea. Like the Dongsha and Zhongsha Islands, they have been China's territory since ancient times. This is not only proved by numerous Chinese and foreign historical records, documents, maps and cultural relics of ancient or modern times, but also recognized by many countries and extensive world opinion. These island groups were for a time in modern history illegally seized by foreign countries, but this in no way changes the historical fact and legal basis of their belonging to China.

The Vietnamese authorities cherish regional hegemonic and expansionist designs. While stepping up aggression and expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia, they illegally occupied some islands of China's Nansha island group in 1975 and flagrantly laid a territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands, reversing their earlier position of recognizing these islands as Chinese territory. On September 28, 1979 the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry issued a White Book entitled *Viet Nam's Sovereignty Over the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Archipelagoes*, in which it pieced together or contrived some self-contradictory and utterly untenable "proving materials" in a vain attempt to find legal grounds for their illegal occupation and expansionist designs. This is completely futile.

It is impermissible to falsify historical facts or trample upon principles of international

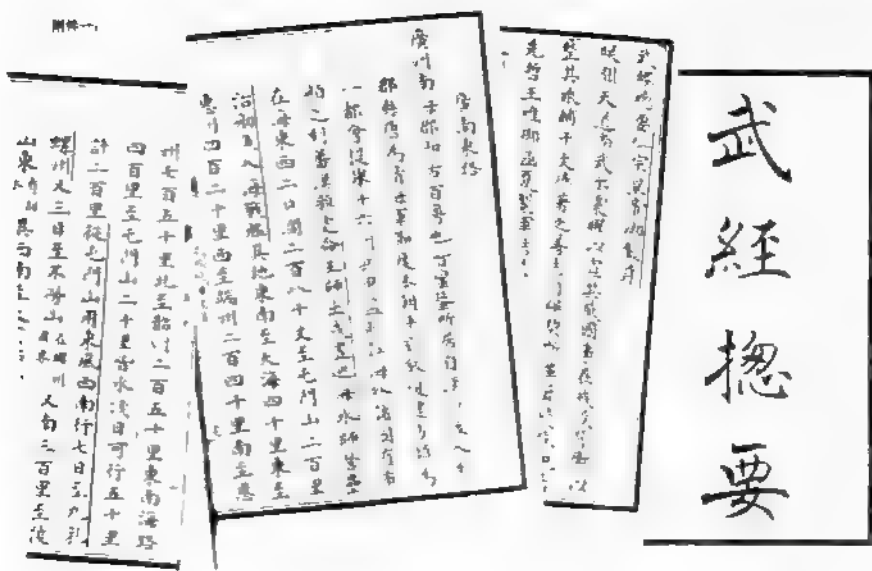
law. Here we cite authentic historical records and official documents to refute and explode the lies of the Vietnamese authorities and clearly prove the indisputable sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over the Xisha and Nansha Islands.

(1) The Xisha and Nansha Islands Have Been China's Territory Since Ancient Times

As early as the 2nd century B.C., at the time of Emperor Wu Di of the Han Dynasty, Chinese people began sailing the South China Sea. After long years of navigation, they discovered successively the Xisha and Nansha Islands. The geographical features of these islands are described in *Nan Zhou Yi Wu Zhi* (Strange Things of the Southern Provinces) by Wan Zhen and *Fu Nan Zhuan* (An Account of Fu Nan) by Kang Tai, both of which were written in the Three Kingdoms period (220-265)*.

After the discovery of the Xisha and Nansha Islands, groups of Chinese people, surmounting all kinds of difficulties, came to visit and develop them. Their voyages to the Xisha and Nansha Islands and their productive activities there during more than 1,000 years and the location and distribution of these islands are recorded in *Meng Liang Lu* (Record

* Wan Zhen in his *Nanzhou Yi Wu Zhi* (Strange Things of the Southern Provinces) wrote about the navigation route from the Malay Peninsula to the mainland of China in the Han Dynasty: "... going northeastward, one reaches Daqitou and then sails through Zhang Hai, which is shallow and has a lot of lodestones underneath." Zhang Hai was the name for the present South China Sea. The lodestones referred to are the then submerged sand cays and reefs of the Xisha and Nansha Islands. They were called "lodestones" because ships were liable to be stranded on them and unable to extricate themselves. Kang Tai in his *Fu Nan Zhuan* (An Account of Fu Nan) wrote: "In Zhang Hai there are coral islands with flat base rocks, on which coral grows."



ANNEX 1: Record in "Wu Jing Zong Yao" (Outline Record of Military Affairs) of the Northern Song Dynasty about the patrol of the "Guangnan Fleet" reaching Jiuruluozhou.

of a Daydreamer) of the Song Dynasty, *Dao Yi Zhi Lue* (Brief Account of the Islands) of the Yuan Dynasty, *Dong Xi Yang Kao* (Studies on the Oceans East and West) and *Shun Feng Xiang Song* (Fair Winds for Escort) of the Ming Dynasty, *Zhi Nan Zheng Fa* (Compass Directions) and *Hai Guo Wen Jian Lu* (Records of Things Seen and Heard About the Coastal Regions) of the Qing Dynasty and *Geng Lu Bu* (Manuals of Sea Routes) of fishermen of various generations. In these works, the Xisha and Nansha Islands were variously named Jiuruluozhou (nine isles of cowry), Shitang (rocky reefs), Qianlishitang (thousand-li rocky reefs), Wanlishitang (ten thousand-li rocky reefs), Changsha (long sand cays), Qianlichangsha (thousand-li sand cays) and Wanlichangsha (ten thousand-li sand cays), and the numerous islands, reefs, sand cays and banks of these two archipelagoes were also given many descriptive names. In recent years, there have been discovered in the Xisha Islands ruins of living quarters, pottery and porcelain utensils, iron knives, iron cooking pots, and other articles of daily use belonging to the Tang and Song Dynasties, and wells, shrines, tombs and other relics of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. These facts prove that, since at least the Tang and Song Dynasties, Chinese people have lived on the Xisha and Nansha Islands and engaged in fishing and other productive activities there.

Along with the exploitation and development of the Xisha and Nansha Islands by Chinese people, the successive Chinese governments exercised jurisdiction over them.

As early as the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), Chinese naval patrols reached the Xisha Islands. It is recorded in *Wu Jing Zong Yao* (Outline Record of Military Affairs)*, to which the Northern Song Emperor Ren Zong (1023-1063) personally wrote a preface, that the Northern Song court "ordered patrols by imperial forces and the building of a barracks for naval patrols" in Guangnan (now Guangdong), "commissioned the building of keeled sea-faring warships" which, "sailing in the south-western direction from Tun-menshan, with a fair east wind, can reach Jiuruluozhou

in seven days." (See annex 1.) Jiuruluozhou was the name for today's Xisha Islands. It shows that the Northern Song court already put the Xisha Islands under its jurisdiction and therefore dispatched naval "warships" to patrol them

Early in the Yuan Dynasty, an astronomical observation was carried out at 27 places throughout the country. In the 16th year of the reign of Zhiyuan (1279) Kublai Khan or Emperor Shi Zu, personally assigned Guo Shou-jing, famous astronomer and Deputy Director of the Astronomical Bureau**, to do the observation in the South China Sea. According to the official *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Nanhai. Guo's observation point, was "to the south of Zhuya" and "the result of the survey showed that the latitude of Nanhai is 15°N." The astronomical observation point Nanhai was on

* *Wu Jing Zong Yao* (Outline Record of Military Affairs) was authoritative literature of the Song Dynasty, which records the military system and major affairs in national defence. It was edited by Ding Du, Deputy Prime Minister and concurrently Minister of Works, and Zeng Gongliang, Royal Attendant in Tian Zhang Ge, a title equivalent to a privy councillor

** The Chinese name of the title was "Tong Zhi Tai Shi Yuan Shi."

today's Xisha Islands*. It shows that Xisha Islands were within the bounds of China at the time of the Yuan Dynasty.

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the officially compiled local chronicles *Guangdong Tong Zhi*, *Qiongzhoufu Zhi* and *Wanzhou Zhi* all record, in the section of "territory" or "geography, mountains and waters," that "Wanzhou covers Qianlichangsha (thousand-li sand cays) and Wanlishitang (ten thousand-li rocky reefs)." This shows that at the time, the Xisha and Nansha Islands were under the administration of Wanzhou of Qiongzhou Prefecture (now Wanning and Lingshui Counties, Hainan Island), Guangdong Province.

In the 49th to 51st years of the reign of Kangxi (1710-12) of the Qing Dynasty, Wu Sheng, Vice-Admiral of the Guangdong Fleet, led a naval patrol and "went personally on an inspection tour, setting out for Qiongya, rounding Tonggu and passing through Qizhouyang and Sigengsha, covering 3,000 li**." The Qizhouyang (sea of seven islands) mentioned here refers to the sea area around the Xisha Islands, whose patrol was the responsibility of the Guangdong Fleet. In the book *Shi Xi Ji Cheng* (Travel Notes of an Envoy to the West) by Guo Songtao, the Qing Dynasty Minister to Britain, the account of his voyage to his post made in 1876 includes this passage: "By noon on the 24th day of the tenth moon, 2nd year of the reign of Guangxu, the ship had sailed 831 li and reached 17 degrees 30 minutes north of the Equator, 200 to 300 li south of Qiongzhou. The sailors called this place China Sea.... Nearby to the left were the Paracel Islands [the Xisha Islands] which yielded sea slugs, and also coral, which was not of very good quality. These islands belong to China."

In the 9th year of the reign of Guangxu (1883), Germany carried out surveys on the Xisha and Nansha Islands but had to stop them under the protest of the Qing Government.

The fact that the Xisha and Nansha Islands have been China's territory since ancient times is not only recorded in a large number of history books and local chronicles but also corroborated by many official maps, e.g., *Huang Qing Ge Zhi Sheng Fen Tu* (Map of the Provinces Directly Under the Imperial Qing Authority) made in the 20th year of Qianlong (1755), *Da Qing Wan Nian Yi Tong Di Li Quan Tu* (Map of the Eternally Unified Great Qing Empire) made in the 15th year of Jiaqing (1810) and *Da Qing Yi Tong Tian Xia Quan Tu* (Map

of the Unified Territory of the Great Qing Empire) made in the 22nd year of Jiaqing (1817).

In the fourth moon of the first year of Emperor Xuantong (1909), Zhang Renjun, Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, sent Li Zhun, Admiral of the Guangdong Fleet, with more than 170 naval officers and men on an inspection tour of the Xisha Islands in three warships, the *Fubo*, the *Guangjin* and the *Shenhang*. They inspected 15 islands and set up stone tablets engraved with the names of the islands. They hoisted the flag and fired a salvo on Yongxing Island by way of reasserting Chinese sovereignty.

In 1911 the Chinese Guangdong provincial government announced the putting of the Xisha Islands under the administration of Yaxian County, Hainan Island. In 1921 the Ministry of Interior of the Chinese Government approved a license for He Ruinian, a merchant of Guangdong Province, to engage in fishing, plantation and mining on the Xisha Islands. Later he was found to have transferred the license to Japanese merchants, and the license was withdrawn.

In May 1928 the Guangdong provincial government sent a study group consisting of military and civil officers, scientists and technicians to go to the Xisha Islands by warship to make investigations on the spot. The group submitted a detailed report on the results of the investigations.

* Guo Shoujing then was responsible for the work of establishing astronomical observation points within the bounds of China in the Yuan Dynasty. The Nanshai observation point was "to the south of Zhuya," that is, to the south of Hainan Island. The result of their survey was: "The latitude of Qiongzhou is 19.75°N"; "The latitude of Nanshai is 15°N." This shows that the Nanshai observation point was more than 4 degrees south of Qiongzhou observation point on Hainan Island, which is exactly the location of the Xisha Islands of today. Owing to technological limitations at that time, the north latitudes obtained of most of the 27 observation points showed an error of about one degree as compared with their present latitudes. Since according to the system of the Yuan Dynasty a circumference was divided into 365.25 degrees instead of 360 degrees as at present, the then 15°N for the Nanshai observation point should actually be 14°47'N, and discounting the error of about one degree, its location is precisely on the Xisha Islands of today.

** See volume 56 of *Quan Zhou Fu Zhi* (History of Quanzhou), written during the reign of Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty.

The above historical facts fully prove that China was the first to discover, develop and administer the Xisha and Nansha Islands. Consecutive jurisdiction was exercised over them by successive Chinese Governments for more than 1,000 years. The Chinese are indisputable owners of these island groups.

(2) China's Struggle in Defence of Its Sovereignty Over the Xisha and Nansha Islands

For a period of time after the establishment of its colonial rule in Viet Nam towards the end of the 19th century, France still recognized China's sovereignty over the Xisha Islands. In connection with the Xisha Islands, the French Premier and Foreign Minister Aristide Briand admitted on August 22, 1921 "the impossibility in which we currently find ourselves to claim these Islands as the Chinese Government has since 1909 exercised its rights to their ownership [referring to the above-mentioned inspection tour of the Xisha Islands by Li Zhun]." In 1929 French Acting Governor-General in Indochina also conceded that "according to reports from various sources, the Paracels [the Xisha Islands] should be regarded as belonging to China*.

But the then French colonialists, covetous of Chinese territory and aware of the great strategic importance of the Xisha Islands, tried to seize these islands by taking the opportunity of Japanese aggression against China's northeastern provinces starting with the September 18th Incident of 1931. In a note addressed to the Chinese Legation in France on December 4 the same year, the French Government asserted that the Empire of Annam had a so-called "prior title" to the Xisha Islands, thus flagrantly laying a territorial claim to these Chinese Islands. The then Chinese Government gave a rebuttal in categorical terms, pointing out that the Xisha Islands had long been under China's jurisdiction. In his note of November 30, 1932 to the French Consul in Guangzhou, Zhu Zhaoxin, Special Inspector of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Government, again affirmed that "there is no doubt whatsoever that the Xisha Islands are part of China's territory."

However, the then French authorities went a step further and invaded and occupied nine

of China's Nansha Islands in 1933. The Chinese people rose in protest, and the then Chinese Government made strong representations to the French authorities through diplomatic channels.

A "Committee for the Examination of Land and Sea Maps" composed of the representatives of the Chinese Foreign, Interior and Naval Ministries and other institutions in 1934-35 specially checked and approved the names of the South China Sea Islands and compiled and printed the *Map of the South China Sea Islands*, on which the Dongsha, Xisha, Zhongsha and Nansha Islands were clearly marked as belonging to China.

During World War II, Japan invaded and occupied the Xisha and Nansha Islands in 1939. Following the Japanese surrender in 1945, the then Chinese Government in November and December 1946 designated senior officials to proceed to the Xisha and Nansha Islands by warships to take over these islands, where take-over ceremonies were held and stone tablets erected (see annex 2) and troops garrisoned. These were followed by the renaming of the Dongsha, Xisha, Zhongsha and Nansha Islands and their various islands, sand cays, reefs and banks. Thus, the Xisha and Nansha Islands, once illegally seized by foreign powers, were restored to the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai, in his Statement on the U.S.-U.K. Draft of Peace Treaty With Japan and the San Francisco Conference, solemnly declared on August 15, 1951 that, like the Dongsha and Zhongsha Islands, the Xisha and Nansha Islands "have always been China's territory," that "although they had been occupied by Japan for some time during the war of aggression waged by Japanese imperialism, they were all taken over by the then Chinese Government, following Japan's surrender," and that "whether, or not the U.S.-U.K. draft treaty contains provisions on this subject and no matter how these provisions are worded," China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands "will not be in any way affected."

Thereafter, the Government and Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China have issued many solemn statements opposing foreign infringement on China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands and reaffirming

* See *Review of Foreign Affairs*, April 1934, p. 77



ANNEX 2: When the Chinese government officials and naval officers and men took over the Nansha Islands in December 1946, they had a photo taken on Taiping Island as a memento and erected a stone tablet to reassert China's sovereignty over these islands. The photo below (left) shows the front of the stone tablet and the one below (right) shows its back.



firming China's inviolable sovereignty over them.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Government and people have continued to administer and develop the Xisha and Nansha Islands. From 1950 to 1956, large numbers of fishermen from Qionghai County, Guangdong Province, continually went to the Nansha Islands for fishing. The departments concerned of the Hainan Administrative Area of Guangdong Province have continually sent people to the Xisha Islands for surveys, collection of marine products and guano and the setting up of a meteorological station, and exercised administration over the fishermen on the Xisha Islands. In March 1959 the Hainan Administrative Area set up on Yongxing Island of the Xisha Islands an "Office of the Xisha, Nansha and Zhongsha Islands," which in March 1969 was renamed the "Revolutionary Committee of the Xisha, Zhongsha and Nansha Islands of Guangdong Province."

In January 1974 the Chinese People's Liberation Army and militia drove out the troops of the South Vietnamese authorities in

Saigon who had invaded the Xisha Islands and thus defended China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

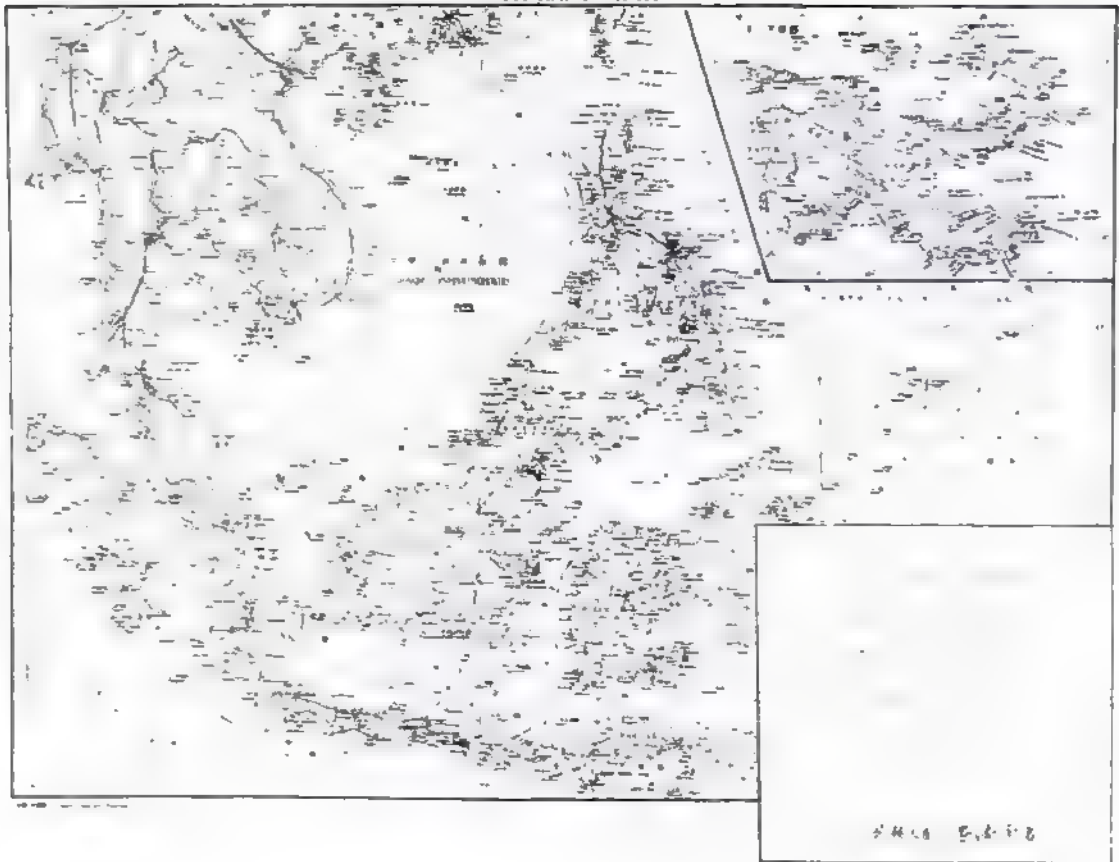
For years the Taiwan authorities of China have maintained a military garrison on Taiping Island, the biggest among the Nansha Islands.

(3) China's Sovereignty Over the Xisha and Nansha Islands Is Widely Acknowledged Internationally

Many countries and world opinion recognize the fact that the Xisha and Nansha Islands are part of China's territory.

In April 1930 the Far East Conference on Meteorology held in Xianggang (Hong Kong), with the participation of the representatives of China, France, the Philippines and the Xianggang authorities, adopted a resolution requesting the Chinese Government to establish a meteorological observation station on the Xisha Islands.

After the Annamese police of the French colonial authorities intruded into the Xisha Islands in 1938, a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated that the Xisha Islands



ANNEX 3: The 15th map Southeast Asia in the "Standard World Atlas" published in 1952 by the Japanese National Education Books Company. On the right corner below is the then Japanese Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki's inscription and signature recommending this atlas.

on which the Annamese police had landed were "recognized by us as part of China's territory*."

The 1951 San Francisco Conference on the peace treaty with Japan decided that Japan should renounce the Xisha and Nansha Islands. The leader of the Soviet Delegation Andrei Gromyko pointed out at the conference that the Xisha and Nansha Islands . . . are China's "inalienable territory." Although the U.S.-U.K. drafted peace treaty with Japan did not mention the ownership of these islands after Japan's renunciation, yet in 1952, the year after the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan was signed, the 15th map, Southeast Asia, of the *Standard World Atlas*, which was recommended by the signature of the then Japanese Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki, marks as part of China all the Xisha and Nansha Islands, which Japan had to renounce as stipulated by the

peace treaty, as well as the Dongsha and Zhongsha Islands (see annex 3). Since these islands were originally China's territory, they should of course be returned to China

In October 1955 the International Civil Aviation Organization held a conference in Manila, which was attended by representatives of the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and the authorities of south Viet Nam and China's Taiwan. Resolution No. 24 adopted by the conference requested the Taiwan authorities of China to improve meteorological observation on the Nansha Islands, and no opposition or reservation was registered in this regard.

* A Reuter dispatch, July 4, 1938

Since the beginning of the 20th century, most of the authoritative encyclopaedias recognize the Xisha and Nansha Islands as China's territory. For instance, the *Worldmark Encyclopaedia of the Nations* published in the United States in 1963 states that the islands [of the People's Republic of China] "include the reefs and islands of the South China Sea, extending as far as 4°N. These reefs and islands include the Tungsha (Pratas), Sisha (Paracels), Chungsha, and Nansha archipelagoes." The *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Enciclopediya* of 1973 and the Japanese *Kyodo World Manual* of 1979 also explicitly point out that the Xisha and Nansha Islands are China's territory.

Atlases and maps published in many countries mark the Xisha and Nansha Islands as belonging to China. For example, this is done in the *Welt-Atlas* published in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1954, the Soviet *Atlas Mira* from 1954 to 1967, the Romanian *Atlas Geografic Scolar* of 1957, the 1968 *Carte Generale du Monde* published in France by the Institut Geographique National, the 1968 *Haack Grosser Weltatlas* published in the G.D.R., the 1970 *Gran Atlas Aguilar* published in Spain and the 1973 *Atlas of China* published by the Japanese Heibou Sha. In short, the Xisha and Nansha Islands are recognized as part of China's territory in contemporary maps and books published in many countries.

(4) The Perfidy of the Vietnamese Authorities

It must be pointed out that there used to be no dispute between China and Viet Nam over the ownership of the Xisha and Nansha Islands. During a long period of time the Vietnamese side formally acknowledged these islands as being Chinese territory since ancient times, whether in their government statements and notes, or in their newspapers, periodicals, maps and textbooks.

On June 15, 1956 Vice-Foreign Minister Ung Van Khem of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam received Li Zhimin, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Viet Nam, and stated to him that, "according to Vietnamese data, the Xisha and Nansha Islands are historically part of Chinese territory." Le Loc, Acting Director of the Asian Department of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, who was present, specifically cited Vietnamese data and pointed out that, "judging from history, these islands were already part of China at the time of the Song Dynasty."

In its declaration of September 4, 1958, the Government of the People's Republic of China proclaimed the breadth of the territorial sea of the People's Republic of China to be 12 nautical miles and stated explicitly that "this provision applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China, including . . . the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China." On September 6, 1958, *Nhan Dan*, central organ of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, prominently featured on its front page details of the Chinese Government's declaration. It wrote, "On September 4, 1958 the Government of the People's Republic of China issued a declaration on China's territorial sea. The declaration provides that the breadth of China's territorial sea is 12 nautical miles (over 22 kilometres). This provision applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China including the Chinese mainland and its coastal islands, as well as Taiwan and its surrounding islands, the Penghu Islands, the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China which are separated from the mainland and its coastal islands by the high seas." On September 14 the same year, Premier Pham Van Dong of the Vietnamese Government solemnly stated in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai of the Chinese State Council that "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam recognizes and supports the declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China on China's territorial sea made on September 4, 1958," and that "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam respects this decision. Pham Van Dong's note clearly shows that the Vietnamese Government acknowledged Xisha and Nansha Islands as China's territory (see annex 4 on next page)

In its statement of May 9, 1965 on the U.S. Government's designation of a "combat zone" for its forces in Viet Nam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam said that it was "a direct threat to the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its neighbouring country" for "U.S. President Lyndon Johnson to designate the whole of Viet Nam and the adjacent waters which extend roughly 100 miles from the coast of Viet Nam and part of the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China in its Xisha Islands as a 'combat zone' of the U.S. armed forces." Here the Vietnamese Government once again clearly recog-



Thưa đồng chí Tổng lý,

Chúng tôi xin trân trọng báo tin để đồng chí Tổng lý rõ:

Chính phủ nước Việt-nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa chỉ định và bổ nhiệm theo tuyên bố, ngày 4 tháng 9 năm 1958, của Chính phủ nước Cộng hòa Nhân dân Trung-hoa, quyết định về hải phận của Trung-quốc.

Chính phủ nước Việt-nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa tôn trọng quyết định lý do chỉ tại cho các cơ quan địa phương có trách nhiệm triệt để tuân theo hai phía 12 hải lý của Trung-quốc, trong mọi quan hệ với nước Cộng hòa Nhân dân Trung-hoa trên mặt biển.

Chúng tôi xin kính gửi đồng chí Tổng lý lời chào rất trân trọng.

Số-051, ngày 10 tháng 9 năm 1958



Kính gửi

Đồng chí CHU AN LAI

Tổng lý Quốc vụ viện

Nước Cộng hòa Nhân dân Trung-hoa

Tại

Ấn

PHAM VAN DONG

Thủ tướng Chính phủ

Nước Việt-nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa

ANNEX 4: Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong's note to Premier Zhou Enlai, dated September 14, 1958.

nized the Xisha Islands as part of Chinese territory.

In reporting foreign intrusions into the Xisha Islands, the Vietnamese press also clearly recognized these islands as belonging to China. For example, on May 13, 1969 *Nhan Dan* reported that "on May 10 a U.S. military aircraft invaded China's air space over Yongxing Island and Dongdao Island of the Xisha Islands of China's Guangdong Province." Many similar reports were carried in Vietnamese papers.

Official maps and textbooks of Viet Nam explicitly acknowledged the Xisha and Nansha Islands as China's territory. For example, the 1960 *World Map* made by the Mapping Section of the General Staff of the Vietnamese People's Army marks the Xisha and Nansha Islands by their Chinese names and notes in brackets that they belong to China. The May 1972 *World Atlas* published by the Bureau of Survey and Cartography Under the Office of the Premier of Viet Nam also marks the Xisha and Nansha

Islands by their Chinese names (see annex 5). Another example, the lesson entitled "The People's Republic of China" in the geography textbook for school pupils of grade 9 published by Viet Nam's Educational Press in 1974 reads in part as follows: "The chain of islands from the Nansha and Xisha Islands to Hainan Island, Taiwan Island, the Penghu Islands and the Zhoushan Islands . . . is shaped like a bow and constitutes a Great Wall defending the China mainland."

The Vietnamese in apparent seriousness stressed that in order to establish territorial sovereignty it is necessary to present "formal state materials" and "documents of legal force." What we have cited above are precisely Vietnamese "formal state materials" and "documents of legal force." This clearly shows that up to 1974 the Vietnamese Government had recognized the Xisha and Nansha Islands as Chinese territory. Now, the Vietnamese authorities have gone back on their own word and perfidiously departed from their original position of recognizing the Xisha and Nansha Islands as Chinese territory, and this is something absolutely impermissible under international law.

(5) The Arguments of the Vietnamese White Book Are Totally Untenable

The 19 "documents" quoted in the White Book of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry fall roughly into two categories: the first category (documents Nos. 1 to 5) consists of some Vietnamese "historical sources" and the second category (documents Nos. 6 to 19) lists some materials about the occupation of China's Xisha and Nansha Islands by the French colonial authorities and the south Vietnamese authorities in Saigon since 1933. All are intended to prove that China's Xisha and Nansha Islands are Vietnamese territory. But if one makes a serious study and analysis, it will not be difficult to find that the "documents" in the first category are all based on deliberate false attribution, and that those in the second category are totally untenable and legally invalid.

The Vietnamese authorities allege that Bai Cat Vang and Hoang Sa Chu in the historical records is what they now call the Hoang Sa Archipelago or what is known in the West as the Paracels, that is to say, China's Xisha Islands. Their primary "historical sources" are

PHILIPPIN MALAI XIA IN ĐÔ NÉ XIA XIN GA PO



ANNEX 5: "World Atlas" printed by Viet Nam in May 1972, page 19. On the right corner below is the cover of the atlas. The Vietnamese words on the right corner below give the name of the compiler: "The Bureau of Survey and Cartography Under the Office of the Premier of Viet Nam."

a "Map of the Quang Ngai Region From a Collection of Maps of Viet Nam" compiled in the 17th century by a Vietnamese called Do Ba and *Phu Bien Tap Luc* (Miscellaneous Records on the Pacification of the Frontiers) written by Le Quy Don in the 18th century. Quoted from the map and the records by the Vietnamese White Book are the following descriptions of Bai Cat Vang and Hoang Sa Chu:

... an elongated sandbank, called Bai Cat Vang (meaning yellow sandbank). . . . lies in the middle of the sea. . . . It takes one day and a half from Dai Chiem Port to go there; and only half a day if one embarks at Sa Ky."

"In Binh Son sub-district, Quang Ngai district, there is the An Vinh village on the sea. Off the coast of this village, in the northeast lie islands with over 130 scattered hills. The distance between these hills is covered by a

voyage of one day or sometimes of only a few hours. There are fresh water springs on these hills. Among the islands there is a vast and flat yellow sandbank, over 30 li long, where the spring water is crystal clear."

The Vietnamese authorities cite the above two passages as the "earliest and most essential" material. But these records precisely show that what the Vietnamese call the Hoang Sa Archipelago is not China's Xisha Islands. They are two entirely different places

First, the geographical location. According to the Vietnamese material, it takes one day and a half to get to Bai Cat Vang from Dai Chiem Port (now Cua Dai, Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, Viet Nam) and only half a day from Sa Ky Port (near Binh Son County, Quang Ngai Province, Viet Nam). But China's Xisha Islands are 200 nautical miles from the coast of central

Viet Nam, a distance which was absolutely impossible to cover by sailboat in half a day or even one day and a half with navigation techniques as they were.

Secondly, the length and area. It is said in the Vietnamese material that Hoang Sa Chu is "over 30 li long" and "vast and flat." Yet, even Yongxing Island, the biggest among China's Xisha Islands, is less than 2 kilometres (4 li) long and has an area of only 1.85 square kilometres.

Thirdly, the topography. According to the Vietnamese material, there are in the Hoang Sa Archipelago "over 130 scattered hills." But there are no hills at all on China's shallow and flat Xisha Islands, whose elevation is generally only 5 to 6 metres, with the highest point measuring 15.9 metres. And in Xisha there are only a total of 35 islands, reefs, sandbanks and sand cays. There are no "over 130 hills" to speak of.

These comparisons clearly show that the Hoang Sa Archipelago mentioned in the Vietnamese material can only be some islands and shoals off the coast of central Viet Nam and not China's Xisha Islands.

The Vietnamese White Book asserts that *Dai Nam Thuc Luc Chinh Bien* (Official Chronicles of Dai Nam) "records the occupation by King Gia Long of the Hoang Sa Islands in 1816." But no record of "occupation" is found anywhere in this history book. The legend that King Gia Long "occupied the Hoang Sa Islands" originated from an article, "Note on the Geography of Cochinchina" by Bishop Louis Taberd, a French colonialist, who wrote: "The Pracel or Parocels, is a labyrinth of small islands, rocks and sandbanks, which appears to extend up to the 11th degree of north latitude, in the 107th parallel of longitude from Paris." He also wrote that in 1816 King Gia Long "went with solemnity to plant his flag and take formal possession of these rocks, which it is not likely anybody will dispute with him." 107°E from Paris meridian is 109°10'E from Greenwich, which is not far from the coast of central Viet Nam. China's Xisha Islands, however, are to the east of 110°10'E. Taberd said that the Pracel extended to 11°N, but the southernmost point of the Xisha Islands is at 15°47'N. Obviously,

the Pracel referred to by Bishop Taberd is islands and shoals off the coast of central Viet Nam, but not China's Xisha Islands.

What the Vietnamese call Truong Sa Archipelago cannot be China's Nansha Islands, either. The White Book says that Truong Sa Archipelago used to be called Dai Truong Sa. Dai Truong Sa is described in many Chinese and Vietnamese historical records, but it obviously is not situated where China's Nansha Islands are; the reference is to some islands and shoals along the Vietnamese coast. As the Vietnamese authorities fail to find any historical evidence of value to prove that Truong Sa is China's Nansha Islands, they in the White Book have recourse to *Dai Nam Nhat Thong Toan Do* (Complete Map of Unified Dai Nam), a map of unknown origin. However, it can clearly be seen from this map that Hoang Sa and Van Ly Truong Sa are close and parallel to the coast of central Viet Nam and not where China's Xisha and Nansha Islands are.

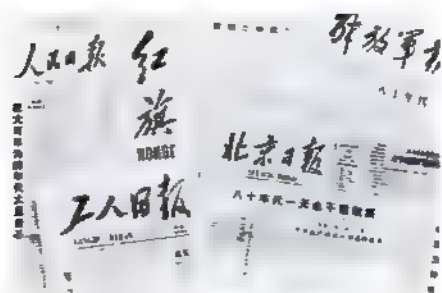
By false attribution the Vietnamese authorities are attempting to find a basis for their ambition for territorial expansion and hoodwink the people of the world. But this is surely futile.

The Vietnamese authorities cite in their White Book the occupation of China's Xisha and Nansha Islands by the French colonial authorities and the south Vietnamese authorities in Saigon since 1933 in order to prove the legitimacy of the Vietnamese authorities' territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands. This is not at all tenable. According to international law, aggression does not establish sovereignty, and "inheritance" of territory seized from another country through occupation is illegal and therefore invalid.

* * *

That the Xisha and Nansha Islands have been China's territory since ancient times is fully proved by legal evidence. And one can draw an impartial conclusion from the ample facts and materials mentioned above. The Vietnamese authorities' illegal occupation of part of China's Nansha Islands and their territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands can only serve to reveal their regional hegemonist and aggressor expansionist ambitions. China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands is indisputable.

Make Every Day Count in the 1980s



"Renmin Ribao" Editorial. (February 2) The 1980s is an extremely important decade in bringing about China's socialist modernization. We have two decades to realize the four modernizations. If we make substantial achievements this decade, we will lay the foundations for positive attainment of the four modernizations in the next ten years. Conversely, if we fail to win a decisive victory in the first decade, our drive to accomplish the four modernizations by the turn of the century could end in failure.

We are fully confident of bringing about the four modernizations because, in the last analysis, we know the broad masses are all for it and we have faith in the Party which leads the whole nation forward in this endeavour. Our Party, Comrade Zhou Enlai once observed, has been through many trials and tribulations and is well tested and tempered. The long-tested and tempered Chinese Communist Party has profited by historical experience and lessons. It is politically maturer and wiser and better at leading. It has laid down a correct political line, a correct ideological line and a correct organizational line, fully capable of leading the whole country in pioneering this great cause of everlasting significance. Lu Xun said: We have, since antiquity, had people who worked hard and mightily, people who worked with dauntless determination and "it is they who are the backbone of China." The Chinese people have the will and the enterprise. If others can achieve modernization within decades, we can

do it too. Of course, it may be a little more difficult for us: we have a huge population and not very much to go by, and we have had the long years of sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four. But these difficulties do not frighten us; they will only spur us on to fulfil our historical mission with redoubled efforts. People say, "The four modernizations start with everyone doing his bit" and "it is up to us to transform our country that has been held back." What they say vividly illustrates our people's lofty resolve.

"Hongqi" Commentator. (No. 3, February 1) In concentrating all attention on bringing about the four modernizations, the leading cadres, too, must devote their main energies and attention to this end. We must make every day count in the 1980s; we cannot afford to grow lax for a moment. If it helps to achieve the four modernizations, let us do it, willingly and enthusiastically, not dragging our feet or listlessly. Let us give it our best and make greater contributions, and not do it carelessly or heedless of results. Take up the heavier responsibilities and don't go for the lighter ones. In the process of achieving the four modernizations, we will meet up with many things and new problems, and many new skills and technologies will be called into play. This will call for study and more study, deeper and deeper investigations, spotting problems in time and speedily studying and solving these problems. Complaining and groaning does not boost morale but demoralize. This magnificent cause of the four modernizations needs people daring to take the responsibility and painstaking, down-to-earth action. It needs a bold innovative spirit. It needs a pioneering spirit.

Party leadership must be strengthened to bring about the four modernizations. Without it, there cannot be a situation of unity and stability; without it, there cannot be that hard-working spirit of a pioneer; without it, the four modernizations will get nowhere. To uphold

Party leadership, it is necessary to improve Party leadership. Every Party member, especially the leading cadres in the Party, must carry out Party principles and policies in an exemplary way, unite with and influence others by one's own deeds. This is the most important thing in bringing the Party's leading role into play. A better Party leadership also means restoring and strengthening its organizational discipline. Our Party's organizational discipline has always been good but was for a while seriously undermined during the Cultural Revolution resulting in a relaxation of Party discipline as Party members were free to do whatever they liked. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue and no efforts are made to thoroughly rectify this, the Party will lose its militancy.

"Jiefangjun Bao" Commentator. (January 27)
The 1980s will be years of key importance in the drive for the four modernizations. Although we have put down an economic foundation of some magnitude and we have now a fairly good forward position, our country had, after all, been very poor to start with. The level of our productive forces is still very low and our scientific and educational level is still not very advanced. In modernizing a country with such a large population and so little to begin with, there are bound to be all kinds of inconceivable difficulties. We must overcome these difficulties and continue to push on ahead.

We must also bear soberly in mind that we are working for the four modernizations in an extremely disturbed international environment. The 1980s is a decade full of hope and also a troublesome decade, a more tumultuous decade pregnant with crises. The present decade began with the thunder of artillery as the Soviet social-imperialists sent armed forces into Afghanistan. That shocked the whole world. And there is also Viet Nam, that junior hegemonist under the aegis of the Soviet Union. It is also stepping up aggression and expansion and is agitating Southeast Asia. The spectre of Soviet aggression and expansion haunts the world; the polar bear threatens Europe, Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. The danger of war is growing. In this decade of great turmoil, we cannot afford to lose a single day in our economic construction and in building up our defence capabilities.

"Gongren Ribao" Commentator. (January 12)
There are two decades before the year 2000. We expect to bring about the four modernizations within that period so that our country will then stand up in the East as a new, modern, powerful socialist state. This is a glorious and great cause never before attempted by our forefathers. It is also a magnificent undertaking of world and historic significance. This will be an undertaking of epic proportions, for China has a huge population and its economy is still relatively backward, and is attempting to accomplish it in a relatively short period. Particular attention should be paid to the first of the two decades. The first decade is decisive. It is very obvious that if we cannot effect a new leap in all fields of our endeavour within the next ten years, if our economic construction makes little progress, then our great goal of the four modernizations by the turn of the century will not be attained. This is why we say that the present decade, which has already begun, is a period vitally affecting the future of our state and nation. We cannot and must not make the 1980s a decade of no accomplishment or very little accomplishment. We must seize every hour, and every minute to add new bricks and tiles to build up this magnificent edifice of the four modernizations. We must march forward firmly and steadily towards our goal.

"Beijing Ribao" Commentator. (January 22)
This decade we have just begun is a decade of great importance. The situation at home and abroad and the glorious but difficult goal of the four modernizations we have set ourselves call upon us to have a strong sense of urgency, be very conscious of the fact that there is no time to lose. Every day in the decade must be treasured. We must throw ourselves into economic construction and do it with undivided attention.

As years of experience have shown, we can capture and maintain the initiative in industrial production throughout the year if we make a good beginning at the start of the year. Conversely, if we relax a little in production at the beginning of the year, then very likely we will be in trouble the rest of the year. All enterprises from the start of the year must make known the world and domestic situation to their workers and staff members so that they all understand the importance of time. Time waits for no one.

EDUCATION

Training 30 Million Young Workers

Thirty million young people out of 100 million workers are to receive further training following a recent decision made at a national conference on workers' education.

Illiteracy among workers has largely disappeared in the 30 years since New China was founded. In the meantime, a considerable number of workers have continued with their education, with many being promoted to management, engineering and technical posts. But 70 to 80 per cent of China's workers today have not attained the level of a junior middle school graduate, and two-thirds of them have only achieved the rank of second- or third-grade workers (workers are divided into eight grades according to their skill, the eighth being the highest). Only 3 per cent of them work as technicians. Therefore, it is important for young workers to

receive a universal junior middle school education and an elementary technical education in order to raise their scientific and cultural levels and to meet the urgent need to raise labour productivity.

In the last three years, all kinds of vocational spare-time schools have been restored and developed. Five hundred thousand workers are now taking a variety of college courses, 200,000 of them study in workers' spare-time colleges, 100,000 are engaged in full-time studies and another 200,000 are enrolled in China Central Television College.

An educational network that includes provisions for full-time study with pay, spare-time study, broadcast correspondence courses and TV courses has been formed in China's major industrial cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Harbin, Wuhan and Guangzhou. In Shanghai, about 800,000 workers are now studying in these vocational schools. In the northeastern city of Harbin 32 per cent of the city's workers, or 194,300,

are attending 360 such schools. Nine per cent of them are doing college studies.

These spare-time workers' schools are usually run by the factories and mines themselves. But education departments of cities and districts, neighbourhood committees and institutes of higher learning also run courses.

TV colleges have become an important part of workers' education. Twenty thousand part-time and full-time teachers give courses which are broadcast by 29 TV stations to 600,000 students.

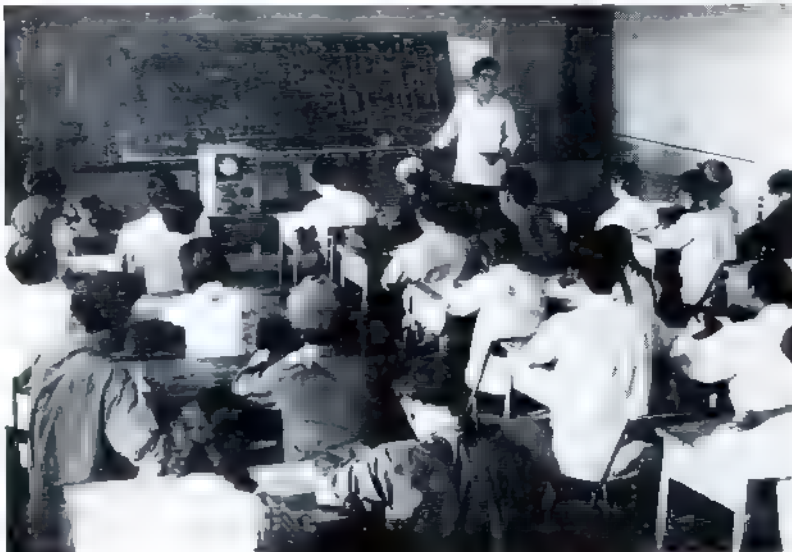
Correspondence colleges also play an important role. The posts and telecommunications departments alone have 30,000 employees enrolled in correspondence courses. The Ministry of Education plans to urge one-third of the country's colleges to open correspondence courses within the next three years, thus increasing the total number of college students by one-third.

MEDICINE

Genetic Counselling Outpatient Service

If one wishes to make sure the child one is expecting will be a healthy one, then it is best to consult a medical specialist on genetics.

In April last year, the Genetic Research Institute and the department of gynaecology and obstetrics of the No. 1 Hospital, both attached to the Hunan Medical College, began an outpatient service to advise prospective parents whether the child they are expecting will be a healthy one or not. The scientists use the culture of



Workers attending an electronics class in Shenyang.

chorionic cells or amniotic fluid, six weeks or four months after pregnancy, to determine whether the foetus has a chromosomal identifiable disease.

Chromosomes are microscopic rod-shaped bodies into which the chromatin of a cell nucleus divides during mitosis. They carry the genes imparting hereditary characteristics. So far some 300 chromosomal defects leading to congenital deformities, dementia and so on, have been detected and identified by medical workers abroad. This means that one baby in every 100 could develop any one of the 300 and more diseases. One couple in every 250 may have a chromosome abnormality.

Since the outpatient service began, it has advised some 200 adults of child-bearing age.

One couple from Pingxiang in Jiangxi Province had two children, both of whom died in their infancy of a congenital heart disease caused by a chromosome abnormality. When the wife was again pregnant, they asked the hospital for advice. After a chromosome examination, they were assured they would have a healthy baby. The woman did give birth to a girl, who is now three and a half months old and is as healthy as any parent could wish. Another expectant mother was advised to have an induced abortion as early as possible because the foetus was found to be retarded mentally.

Some experts point out that planned births must mean more than a drop in the birth rate. There should be fewer babies but better babies. Chromosome diagnosis can help to achieve this, they say.

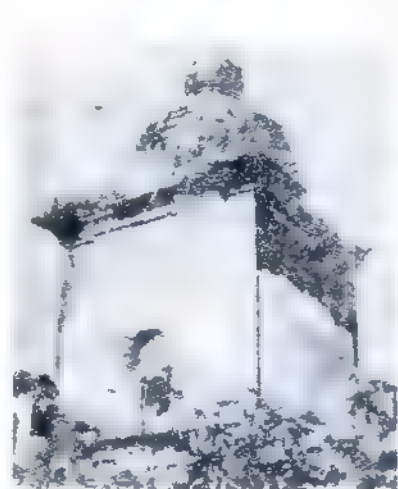
Early diagnosis of hereditary diseases is carried out by a

diagnosis of chromosomes and genes. Up to now, the number of diseases of the genes found comes to 2,600 and Chinese medical geneticists are studying these. The experts believe that if records of everyone examined and found to have some abnormality with their chromosomes or genes are kept and women in this category ask for advice before they give birth, or better still, if the men and women known to possess any of these abnormalities consult the specialists before marriage, then much can be done to bring the diseases under effective control. That will help immeasurably to prevent hereditary diseases and improve the overall health of the population.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Tang Dynasty Stupa Found

A 1,300-year-old square brick stupa with carvings in bas relief has been fully rediscovered recently in Henan Province. It stands at the remains of the Xiuding Monastery on the Qingliang Hills, 35 kilometres northwest of Anyang. The Anyang area has become a major archaeological centre as



The Tang stupa recently discovered in Henan.

it served as the capital of the Yin Dynasty from the 13th to 11th centuries B.C.

Before liberation, the local people covered the stupa carvings with lime to protect them from imperialists and curio dealers who were interested in buying the brick carvings and carting them away. The relief carvings were not rediscovered until Wang Shiguo, a professor of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, happened on the stupa while he was painting along a canal being built by Anyang County in 1973. Curious about why the stupa had been lime coated, he requested that two brick carvings be exposed. He painted the designs, but then died shortly afterwards. These paintings of the relief carvings were not discovered until Wang's paintings were catalogued at the time of his memorial service.

The annals of Anyang County report that the stupa was built during the reign of Zhenguan (627-649). Archaeologists also are of the opinion that the carvings were done in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Despite several strong earthquakes, the stupa has remained as firm as a rock. All the outer carved rhomboid bricks and the bricks of the inner walls are joined by mortise and tenon.

The stupa is 9.3 metres high and each side measures 8.3 metres wide. Its 72 designs, which cover an area of 300 square metres, depict people, Apsaras (goddesses), dancers, celestial guardians, dragons, flying wild geese, lotuses and peony flowers. There is also a scene of the dance of a northern tribe.

The central research institute for protection of historical relics has allocated 50,000 yuan for repairing the stupa.

"Secret History of The Mongols"—A New Translation

Compiled by Doran Tibo;
Inner Mongolian People's
Publishing House;
280,000 characters;
Renminbi 1.75 yuan

A new edition of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, a saga written by unknown Mongolian authors in 1240, has recently been put out by the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House.

The book is compiled by Doran Tibo, vice-president of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

Written in ancient Mongolian, the original text was lost long ago, but it had been transliterated into the Han language and it is that version which was circulated in China and abroad under the title of *Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty*. It was done by scholars of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) based on the revised edition of the *Secret History* issued in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). The title is incorrect since the book does not deal with the history of that dynasty. It covers 500 years of Mongol history dating back 22 generations prior to Genghis Khan. The book was translated into English, French, German, Japanese and Russian and published in various countries in the last 100 years. Nevertheless, there are many garbled and obscure passages in the past transliterated editions printed in China and some of

the footnotes contain historical inaccuracies.

Doran Tibo is a Mongolian scholar in ancient Mongolian history and literature and poetry. He knows several foreign languages as well as the languages of several nationalities of China. He has compared the various versions of the *Secret History of the Mongols* in different languages, corrected many mistakes in the transliterated version and translated the book with annotations into classical Chinese language.

In the preface, Doran Tibo says that the *Secret History of the Mongols* is of historical and literary value and useful in studying the military affairs of the ancient Mongolian people.

The new translation keeps to the literary style of the original folk narrative poem but uses simple language.

Publication News

- *Xian Incident* by the Shanghai People's Publishing House and *Chronicles of the Xian Incident* by the Shaanxi People's Publishing House describe the incident on December 12, 1936 in which two Kuomintang generals arrested Chiang Kai-shek to urge him to accept the call of the Communist Party to unite against Japanese aggression. The incident was peacefully settled through the mediation of the Communist Party.

- *Water Margin*, a classic novel about a 12th century peasant uprising, has been translated into the languages of the Uygur and Kazakh nationalities and published by the Xinjiang Publishing House.

- *Survey of the Flora and Fauna of Tibet's Ngari Prefecture* by a publishing house

under the Chinese Academy of Sciences contains the findings of a 4-month survey of Ngari Prefecture made in 1974 by a 16-member team from the Research Institute of Biology in Qinghai Province. Ngari Prefecture, 4,500 metres above sea level and 350,000 square kilometres in area, is known as the plateau on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. Previously only 50 species of plants and animals had been identified in this region. The survey team, however, gathered more than 14,000 specimens and identified 349 species of plants, 91 of birds, 25 of animals, 12 of fish and two of reptiles.

- An encyclopaedia of ancient Chinese agriculture entitled *Complete Works of Agriculture* has just come off the press. Published by the Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, it contains a text written by Xu Guangqi, a noted scholar in the latter part of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and notes compiled by Shi Shenghan. Because the original book was difficult to comprehend as it lacked explanations for the many sources quoted, Shi Shenghan, a professor of the Northwest College of Agriculture, wrote very readable notes for the text in 1955. This authoritative book presents a systematic approach to a historical study of Chinese agriculture and China's social and economic development.



● **First Underground Reservoir**

The first underground reservoir in China built on an ancient river course has been completed in Hebei Province's Nangong County through the joint efforts of Chinese scientists and the local people.

With a total storage capacity of 480 million cubic metres, the reservoir, which covers an area of 200 sq. kilometres, consists of 2,000 small projects, including canals, dams and pumping stations. From 1977 to 1979 more than 100 million cubic metres of water were supplied to the county, watering 14,000 hectares of land. The reservoir has almost replenished the depleted amount with rainwater.

Historical records and stratum studies showed that a rolling river flowed in this area 4,000 years ago. Geographical and water conservancy departments in Hebei Province conducted surveys and scientific experiments which demonstrated the usefulness of the ancient river course. As a result large quantities of data for building the underground reservoir have been gathered.

This underground reservoir is "solid," that is, its water supply is stored in a 30-metre layer of sand beneath the surface. Filled with rainwater, it has clay walls and bottom and its surface is loam. An additional water supply comes from two nearby small rivers.

● **Solving the City Traffic Problem**

Shenyang, the biggest industrial city in northeast China, has been always burdened by crowded traffic in the past. During rush hours people had

to wait for a long time to get on a bus. The recruitment of several hundred thousand new workers last year made the problem on some main routes still worse.

In order to tackle it, Guo Feng, the city Party secretary, sent out a team to investigate the case last November. But letters kept coming in, asking the city's leading comrades to get to the spots and acquire first-hand material about the traffic problem. So Guo began his opinion-seeking journey on a bus at six in the morning. He talked with passengers, bus drivers, conductors and maintenance workers. Other leading cadres also did the same and suggested ways to solve the problem.

The number of passengers reached its peak during the three rush hours when one million workers go to or come from work. They accounted for 60 per cent of the day's total. This needs to be solved step by step.

Recently the following steps were adopted in Shenyang: stagger the to-work or knock-off hours in various factories and enterprises; allocate 70 buses to reinforce the main routes; and put into service

buses which only stop at bigger stations or run part of their normal routes during the rush hours. All this greatly helped alleviate the overcrowded buses in the city. People said joyfully: "With such leaders at the head, we must do our best to bring about the four modernizations."

● **Winter Garden Parties**

Some 30,000 people attended each of the winter garden parties held last December and January in Beijing's Beihai Park, a 800-year-old famous downtown park which once served as a winter recreation spot for the Qing court (1644-1911).

One popular event was an ice show which began with a team of skaters forming two dragons to the accompaniment of *Spring Festival Overture*. Other performances included masqueraded lions, a lotus dance, figure skating and a hawk preying on chickens which was presented by a couple in their sixties and a group of children. The fine skill of some skating athletes was demonstrated when they re-enacted fighting movements from famous Beijing opera scenes. Amateurs from schools



"Dragon Dance" on ice in Beihai Park.

People in the News



Lei Zhenxiao is becoming known in China's academic circles for his studies into the problem of how to give full play to man's talents—a new subject in social sciences.

The young man works in the Research Institute of Scientific and Technological Information of Guizhou Province. He has written more than ten papers about recognizing, developing and fully employing human talent. At a symposium held last October in Beijing to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic, he was invited to speak about his research and results.

Lei Zhenxiao had gone to Jinsha County, Guizhou Province, to work as a peasant upon his graduation in 1970 from the Department of Chemistry of Beijing University. There, he saw how much talent was being wasted because many trained people were assigned jobs which had nothing to do with their field of learning. In Jinsha alone there were more than 100 college graduates who were not doing work they had been trained for. He decided to investigate and study the laws governing the training and employment of human talent. He wanted to help solve this problem.

Last February, he and a friend wrote an article which made a strong plea for making this problem a special subject of study. Another article, "On Internal Factors Governing the Successful Training of People," jointly written by Lei and his colleague, also aroused widespread interest.

"Men of remarkable talent emerge through hard work and suffering; comfort and leisure can never turn out great men." This is how Lei Zhenxiao describes the problem and, at the same time, it is the motto he has adopted to guide his studies.

Men of talent, according to Lei Zhenxiao, cannot wait for others to discover and recommend them, and they must actively make use of all their positive factors and work hard for the country and the people first.

and factories in Beijing, professional skaters and coaches participated in the show.

A fireworks display and lantern show attracted large crowds one day. A tremendous variety of lanterns were on display, including wall lamps, palace lanterns, rotating lan-

terns, ice lanterns, toy lanterns and lanterns in the forms of figures, animals, plants and buildings.

A flower show will soon open, and concerts, weekend evening parties and evening film shows will be back again this year.

● Sell New Apartments To Individuals

A new practice to sell government-built apartments to individuals has been introduced in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region's cities of Nanning, Liuzhou, Guilin and Wuzhou.

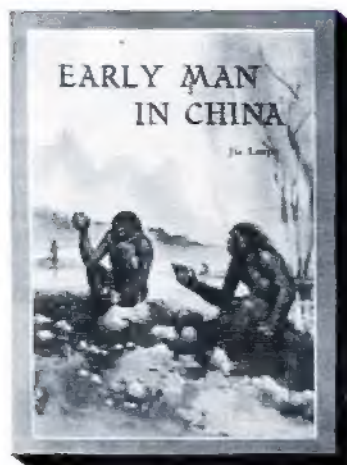
One hundred and thirty-four new apartments (each with three or four rooms) with a total floor space of 9,000 square metres were recently built in these cities. Residents interested in buying an apartment may apply to their city's housing management offices. The price is set according to construction costs. Generally, prices range between 7,000 and 8,000 yuan. Buyers pay on a three-year instalment plan. This practice will enable the state to build more new houses to meet the needs of urban residents.

China's Constitution stipulates: "The state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses and other means of livelihood." The new owners will be issued a private house certificate.

Since liberation, the government has built numerous urban apartments. City residents only pay a low rent to the state. In the countryside, most peasants build and own their own houses.



EARLY MAN IN CHINA



(In English)

by

Jia Lanpo

Since time immemorial man has been intensely interested in enquiring into his own origin, and all sorts of answers have been given on the subject.

Written in lively and easy-to-understand language and with a wealth of data, the book gives a picture of the life of early man in China from 1.7 million to 10,000 years ago.

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